

**Department of Economics and Marketing
Discussion Paper No.42**

**Cultural Tourism:
The Balancing Act**

*L E Williams
N. Darma Putra*

November 1997

Department of Economics and Marketing
PO Box 84
Lincoln University
CANTERBURY

Telephone No: (64) (3) 325 2811
Fax No: (64) (3) 325 3847
E-mail: Williaml@lincoln.ac.nz

ISSN 1173-0854
ISBN 1-877176-19-2

L.E. Williams, Lincoln University, New Zealand.

N. Darma Putra, Fakultas Sastra, Udayana University, Indonesia

Contents

List of Tables	(i)
1. Introduction	1
2. Cultural Tourism and Economic Development	2
3. Cultural Tourism in Bali	3
4. Cultural Tourism in Bali: a Solution to Development?	6
5. Cultural Tourism: Does it Pollute Bali?	7
6. Cultural Tourism: the Balancing Act	9
References	12

List of Tables

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1. | Tourist Arrivals in Indonesia, 1994 | 5 |
|----|-------------------------------------|---|

1. Introduction

Tourism is a dynamic international industry that attracts customers from all walks of life to locations all around the globe. It is also an industry that has the potential to provide a large source of revenue for many groups of stakeholders, including governments and for-profit organisations. Just as there are many types of holidaymakers there are also many tourism products and philosophies that aim to cater for tourists' needs. Government bodies and tourism industries in many countries recognise the competitiveness in this environment and try to promote their respective nations by differentiating them from other tourist destination points.

Tourism strategies and promotions commonly include appeals relating to traditional life and cultures. As Javier Perez de Cuellar, the former United Nations Secretary General, stated in the 1995 Yogyakarta International Conference on Culture and Tourism, "There is no tourism without culture" (Kompas, 1995). In fact, it could well be argued that the facilities and services offered to tourists are easily imitated whatever the environment. It is the local people living in a destination area, and the many material and immaterial aspects of their traditional culture that are unique and thus extremely marketable. According to Lanfant (Lanfant, Allcock and Bruner, 1995, 35), tourists ... "through their own displacement (in more modern societies), are looking for what they feel their own society has lost...".

This paper will briefly examine the concept of cultural tourism, as well as the benefits and problems that have been associated with this strategy. The authors then focus their attention on the Balinese experience of cultural tourism. Bali is well-recognised as an international tourist destination, particularly because of its rich cultural heritage. The question of whether cultural tourism is of positive benefit to the Balinese culture is then discussed. There are those, however, that criticise culturally-oriented tourism on the island, stating it has degraded and polluted the Balinese culture. This issue is explored. In the final analysis, the authors suggest a way forward for Bali and cultural tourism - one that may be appropriate for tourism planners and managers of other tourism destinations.

2. Cultural Tourism and Economic Development

Many regional and national planners have developed their economies by focusing on tourism. Many have also adopted a culturally-oriented tourism philosophy. This is particularly true of developing nations who, while they may not have a large industrial base or a well-educated workforce, do often have an abundance of beautiful scenery and ancient heritage sites. These are frequently viewed as products which can be bundled into a tourism package and marketed with very little capital investment - seemingly an ideal way to achieve economic development, at least in the short-term.

International interest in cultural tourism was boosted significantly by the United Nations' Economic and Social Commission Conference on International Travel and Tourism in Rome in 1963. This gathering gave strong support to the notion that cultures could be preserved and economies would grow if tourism policies were culturally focused. For nearly ten years the over-riding belief of tourism experts was supportive of this belief. By the 1970's, however, the first grumblings of discontent could be heard. As Picard (1996) observed, the costs of tourism- its sustainability in terms of socio-cultural and environmental costs, began causing concern. Debates, about the advantages and disadvantages of cultural tourism, have continued.

Since the 1970's China has gradually opened its doors to the world. As Li Peng, the Chinese premier, said in his opening address to the recent international tourism conference in Beijing, "China abounds in tourism resources - with its beautiful natural scenery, numerous places of historic interest and cultural sites, and its splendid and colourful culture" (Li Peng, 1997, 2). These attractions have helped to draw increasing numbers of visitors to China, particularly in the past decade. In 1996 alone, 51 million tourists entered the country and in ensuing years this figure is expected to rise and, along with it, economic growth.

The appeal of China as a tourist destination can, in part, be attributed to its past policies of discouraging foreigners. This has helped create the perception of China as 'forbidden fruit'. This appeals to tourists eager to experience somewhere that has long been denied to them. As the Chinese Premier has also observed, there are also growing demands for tourist destinations 'off the beaten track', something China can readily provide. The Chinese Government has played a key part in increasing tourist numbers to their shores. The years 1994 and 1995 were declared 'the China Visiting Years', with special attention given to promoting the country's cultural heritage and folklore.

The Egyptian and Hawaiian economies generate a substantial proportion of their revenues from culturally-focused tourism. In 1996 alone, the number of tourists visiting Egypt stood at 3.9 million and generated three billion in income, up a staggering 31% from the previous year. Industry analysts expect an annual growth rate of 20% over the next five years. This is being encouraged by government privatisation measures, more private tourism services and the development of state infrastructure related to tourism - part of a broader plan to diversify the economy (Asian Wall Street Journal, 1997). Hawaii has fostered tourism for a longer period and it too receives significant economic returns from tourism.

Many people visit Egypt to see the ancient Pyramids and other well-known heritage sites. They typically stop in Hawaii to experience traditional island life, as well as the leisure opportunities offered by this wealthy economy. Both governments have actively encouraged tourists to holiday in their country, in full knowledge of the revenue they contribute to state coffers. Benefits additionally accrue to those involved, directly and indirectly, in the formal and informal sectors of these economies. Tourist dollars help raise the standard of living of host communities, in these and other nations.

All is not entirely perfect when it comes to cultural tourism. As Picard (1996) observed tourism is also viewed as having unwanted costs. Irreplaceable Chinese artefacts have been damaged or sold to overseas buyers - a cost that can readily be linked to the provision of public access to ancient treasures. For example, a recent newsflash in the Jakarta Post (1997) has decried the increase in illegal sales of Chinese relics to the world market. In Egypt there are also concerns. Visits by hundreds of thousands of tourists to ancient relics have accelerated their decay. In Hawaii too there are worries. For example, some locals are disturbed about the degradation of the traditional hula dance. Originally it was part of the religious ceremonies associated with island life. In traditional form it encompassed poetry, pantomime, music and dance (Soedarsono, 1991). Today's 'Hollywood' hula, is commonly performed in tourist venues, and is given an exotic and erotic flavour - quite at odds with its sacred role of the past.

Culturally-oriented tourism initiatives involve and impact many groups. These commonly include government officials, tourism entrepreneurs and their employees, holidaymakers, community and religious leaders, the host community and environmental groups. They often have diverse objectives, expectations and perceptions about what is appropriate tourist behaviour and what aspects of their cultural life is appropriate for tourist consumption and what are seen as sacrosanct.

In the following section we discuss the Balinese experience of cultural tourism, then examine how stakeholders in the tourism business could address issues that the critics have voiced about this type of tourism.

3. Cultural Tourism in Bali

The island of Bali needs little introduction. It has been a well-recognised international tourist destination since the 1920's when its image as an island paradise first took hold (Vickers, 1989). Much of the early attention to the Balinese culture can be attributed to its Dutch colonial administrators who issued a policy of 'Balinising Bali' - the objective of which was to encourage the island's population to preserve their heritage rather than adopt modern Western ways (Picard, 1996). Since that time visiting tourists, artists, anthropologists and dignitaries have had a continuing fascination for life on Bali.

With Indonesian independence in the 1960's came another boost to Balinese culture. The mother of Sukarno, the first national president, originated from Bali. Sukarno and other Indonesian elite frequently visited Bali on holiday, as well as investing in several luxury hotels on the island. By 1965, however, the Indonesian economy was in severe trouble and social unrest was high. Political opponents of Sukarno staged a coup at this time, resulting in the installation of President Suharto, who rules today. The new government made a concerted effort to improve the nation's economy by doing such as things as improving the national infrastructure (Vickers, 1989; MacIntyre and Jayasuriya, 1995). This included the development of an international airport on Bali.

Cultural tourism did not formally constitute part of tourism planning on the island until the 1970's. It was then legitimised under the First (National) Development Plan and included an international tourism strategy, aimed at contributing to the economy and helping to overcome the previous years of internal unrest (Picard, 1996). Several international tourism experts gave the Indonesian Government advice about tourism development. In their opinion priority should be given to attracting holidaymakers to Bali, since it was already well known around the globe. It was also believed it would serve as an ideal model for future tourism development in the country.

A Balinese Tourism Development Plan was initiated in 1969. A team of French consultants, supported by the World Bank and with funds from the United Nations, completed the report in 1971. In general, it proposed that more tourism accommodation be built on Bali, but in enclaves so as to

protect locals from foreign tourists. Visitors, the consultants suggested, would be able to venture outside designated tourism areas in order to view local life. Balinese, on the other hand, were encouraged to provide tourists with examples of their culture. They were not, however, party to initial tourism plans for their island. In fact, tourism-related legislation at that time clearly focused on issues of growth and diversification of the national economy, with cultural impacts of secondary importance (Geriya, 1995; Wall and Nuryanti, 1997). Members of the Balinese elite and cultural experts from the island, however, asserted themselves and suggested a cultural tourism philosophy for Bali. It was hoped this would protect local culture, while at the same time meeting tourists' needs. In 1991 tourism legislation in relation to Bali was reviewed and the Balinese culture afforded greater attention, equal to and compatible with economic growth.

Table 1
Tourist Arrivals in Indonesia, 1994

	Number of Tourists	Expenditures
Aceh	18,659	21,863,353
N. Sumatra	301,072	352,774,520
W. Sumatra	35,390	41,467,173
Riau	358,210	419,725,639
Jambi	2,274	2,664,788
S. Sumatra	3,540	4,147,581
Bengkulu	1,816	2,127,589
Lampung	3,788	4,438,171
Jakarta	958,818	1,123,475,378
W. Java	178,953	209,584,146
C. Java	90,046	105,509,252
Yogyakarta	150,151	175,936,453
E. Java	89,135	104,441,923
Bali	1,024,231	1,200,122,773
W. Nusa Tenggara	91,791	107,554,376
E. Nusa Tenggara	16,895	19,786,238
E. Timor	4,640	5,436,387
W. Kalimantan	5,989	7,017,352
S. Kalimantan	1,028	1,024,770
C. Kalimantan	9,256	10,846,070
E. Kalimantan	3,613	4,233,973
S. Sulawesi	23,597	27,649,233
S.E. Sulawesi	458	534,842
C. Sulawesi	3,469	4,064,331
N. Sulawesi	13,235	15,507,289
Maluku	7,514	8,804,873
Irian Jaya	5,573	6,530,418

(Source: Wall and Nuryanti, 1995, 77)

In terms of total tourist numbers to Indonesia, Bali has long attracted more visitors than any other Indonesian tourist destination (Table 1). In 1994 more than a million tourists stayed on the tiny island, contributing more than US\$1,200,122,773 to the economy. The current Indonesian National Tourism Strategy recognises the central importance of Bali in their planning, citing it as the hub in their 'hub and spoke' vision of national tourism development (Wall and Nuryanti, 1997).

4. Cultural Tourism in Bali: a Solution To Development?

Vickers (1989) and Picard (1996) observe that both Indonesian presidents, in their time have hailed Bali and tourism as central to the country's development. International agencies and organisations have also taken this stance, as did colonial administrators prior to independence. The New Order of President Suharto additionally stressed the importance of national and ethnic identity to Indonesia, evident in the country's motto of 'unity in diversity'. This support for the rich cultural heritage of Indonesia, coupled with increases in the locals' standard of living, are likely to have contributed to the increased interest of Balinese in their identity. Independence too is likely to have had a positive effect - for Indonesians fought long and hard to overthrow colonial powers. Tourism is one of Bali's main revenue generators and, while the island's economy is likely to have grown without tourism, it has accelerated with increased tourism numbers. "Approximately one fifth of Bali's gross provincial product is derived directly...or indirectly...from tourism so that a substantial, but indeterminate proportion of people on the island are either employed in a tourist-related enterprise or have a close relative who is" (ibid, 197). In relation to cultural tourism, there have been many changes on the island.

As Santeri (1992) observed, there has been increased community involvement in local ceremonies such as at Pura Besakih, the 'mother' temple, in the past two decades. There has been an increased thirst for religious knowledge, more attention to what it means to be Balinese, and a revitalisation of existing temples. There has also been a growth in new ones. This has all helped to strengthen Bali's culture and Agama Hindu, the Balinese religion (Vickers, 1989). A rise in the Balinese population's standard of living has also given inhabitants greater time to address issues other than food and shelter. For example, as Cukier-Snow and Wall (1993) observed, ceremonial offerings are now much more elaborate and expensive. Picard (1996) has also noted this development, especially among the new rich who seem to be using their newly acquired wealth in ceremonial offerings that compete with the more established nobility.

The revival in the importance of the Balinese culture can in part be attributed to provincial leaders and legislation. Governor Ida Bagus Mantra, for example, was the driving force behind the first Bali Arts Festival. This annual cultural celebration encourages local people to support their heritage by awarding prizes for the best performances from Balinese villages. The local government has also taken steps to manage the interface between culture and tourism. A decree, controlling suppliers of cultural performances, was recently released, giving the Bali Arts Council control of the standard of tourist performances. Only certified performers are allowed to entertain at hotel venues and guidelines are provided as to which dances are suitable for public consumption and which should be reserved for sacred occasions. This decree will become law in 1998.

More than any other type of tourism, cultural tourism by its very definition brings individuals with different value systems and world-views into direct contact with each other. This provides tourists and service providers with a view of how the other lives, as well as causing them to reflect on what is important to them. The fascination tourists express about Balinese life has helped give locals greater appreciation of their religion, acting as a mirror to their own culture (Picard, 1996).

Such things as cremation had been selected as important by tourists and writers, which in turn compelled the Balinese to address the meaning of these aspects of their culture. (Vickers, 1989,144)

In a recent Tourism Board Survey some sixty-five percent of tourists indicated that they were interested in finding out about Balinese culture. This openness and interest is likely to have positively influenced locals by encouraging them to explain to tourists the many aspects of their life that are important to them. It has also provided them with a platform to educate visitors so that they appreciate and respect the Balinese way of life. In doing this, Balinese have increased their own understanding of what it means to be Balinese. Both groups have thus been culturally enriched.

5. Cultural Tourism: Does it Pollute Bali?

The plan to promote Bali, its people and artefacts as a tourism package, has not had unanimous support. Some critics argue that this policy and the ensuing push for more tourists is a form of pollution; -

And Bali, with its whole arts, culture and nature, has to be wrapped up as a present for tourists.

In Bali, beaches, mountains, beds, and temples have been contaminated (literally translated from Rendra, in Avling, 1980, 68-72).

Gelebet (1994) and Kobar (1996) believe the wholesale promotion of Bali, that encourages tourists to view cremation ceremonies and other rites of passage, has degraded local culture. In particular, there has been strong criticism of the Balinese wedding ceremonies for outsiders, such as that of pop celebrity, Mick Jagger. Local entrepreneurs believe they were simply meeting tourists needs, and that they did this tastefully. Regional and religious leaders believed otherwise. They said such ventures were illegal, quoting tourism guidelines that state it is prohibited to hold religious ceremonies that may contaminate or humiliate the image of the Balinese religion. The Indonesian Association of Hindu supported this decision, as do many locals. Many were concerned that semi-sacred ritual paraphernalia have been used by non-Balinese Hindus outside of their traditional context. However, while such weddings have been banned they are still provided by some local businessmen. An increase in tourist numbers has undoubtedly attracted some visitors to the island who could be termed 'culturally insensitive'. Nudity at beaches, drunkenness, inappropriate behaviour at dance performances and other such behaviour from a small group of visitors has simply confirmed for some Balinese that Westerners are just like the soap stars they see on imported television shows. Cukier-Snow and Wall (1993, 198) have also suggested that the growth in the tourism sector has indirectly contributed to a breakdown in traditional village life. Villagers are migrating to tourism centres in search of employment and the impact of this has been less rural community activity. The traditional roles of Balinese women has also been changing. This has been influenced by the demands of the tourist and overseas markets for traditional handicraft products (ibid). Sujana (1988) and PATA, the International Tourism Association, have other concerns. They are worried that Balinese may lose their 'Balinesity' because of the over-commercialisation of the region. Kobar (1996) goes further, stating the Balinese heritage is being mass-produced in factories and colleges, and sold to tourists. Bruner (Lanfant, Allcock and Bruner, 1995, 239) voices a similar opinion. Balinese culture is becoming contaminated with the touristic, - for more than seventy years of tourism has blurred the distinction between what is offered to outsiders and what is ethnographic.

The distinction between insiders and outsiders is an interesting one. Critics, like those who say that new ventures such as karaoke, bungee jumping, and white water rafting have strayed too far from Bali's original idea of cultural tourism, typically hold the view that culture is static. It is 'the way we have always done things'. Such individuals believe that there is a 'fixed, authentic and unalterable Balinese culture' (Vickers, 1989, 176). As Picard (1996) and other cultural experts, however, have stated culture is a dynamic force that not only reacts to outside forces but impacts on these forces and local developments too. It is not simply an empty receptacle, passively responding to foreign assault.

Ashworth (1992, 74), observed that when governments push toward a national identity, this type of policy may have a disadvantage for ethnic minorities because it promotes the development of a 'homogeneous heritage product'. Picard (1996) has expressed similar views, stating that Dutch colonial administrators and Indonesian Government officials, have both adopted policies that have altered Balinese society. In using tourism to foster economic growth, and in promoting an Indonesian identity, they have fragmented Balinese culture and packaged its artistic aspects for touristic and national purposes. Other cultural elements are disregarded or are subsumed by national and regional legislation. Lanfant, Allcock and Bruner (1995, 5-6) sum this situation thus; -

The tourism system of action is not a monolithic force. It would be pointless to seize on it as if it were a hegemonic and imperialist power perpetuating disguised neo-colonialism. This system is a network of agents: these tap a variety of motivations....The important thing from our perspective is to restore the local society its rightful status as an actor.

6. Cultural Tourism: the Balancing Act

The resurgence in the Balinese culture, particularly in recent decades, is not in question. It parallels economic growth on the island, increasing visitor numbers, and the rising standard of living of many Balinese. And, at least in the foreseeable future, tourism is likely to remain a significant economic, political and socio-cultural force in Bali.

Vickers (1989) stated that cultural tourism, originally proposed by Balinese as way of managing the government's push for tourism on their island (Picard, 1996), has been replaced as the prime

strategy for protecting local culture by a shift to elite tourism. This proposal of regional planners was meant to attract a more refined group of visitors, as well as fewer numbers. It was also seen as having greater potential to protect Balinese culture than culturally-based tourism.

There are several flaws to the argument for the adoption of an elite tourism focus in Bali. First, the belief that elite tourists are refined (and the implication that all other tourists are not) is a gross over-generalisation and simplification of tourists' behaviour. It is entirely possible that extremely wealthy but unrefined visitors have the potential to do more damage than poorer holidaymakers. Second, but of equal importance, cultural tourism is a tourism product or package whereas the proposed elite tourism strategy relates to a market segment. In other words, it is like trying to compare apples with oranges - they are simply not the same.

Tourists from many segments of the tourism market are interested in the Balinese culture - as a recent tourism report finds. And, while this interest may be confined to those aspects of the Balinese culture that are readily viewable and packaged for touristic consumption, there is no doubt that cultural tourism will continue to play an important role in Bali. So has this thrust to tourism development benefited islanders as much as some believe or is it simply a glib marketing term that glosses over the fact that the Balinese culture is being over-commercialised and degraded?

Picard (1996, 198) observes Balinese have a very clear understanding about the role and function of their art. "The Balinese know very well if they are dancing for tourists, for their community, or for their gods". In 1971, for example, cultural experts on the island identified three forms of art in Bali, categorising them as either for the gods (wali), for ritualistic purposes (bebali) or for entertainment (balih-balihan) (Bandem, 1996; Picard, 1996). The fact this scheme exists shows that Balinese are aware that they perform and produce their arts for different purposes. Furthermore, there is a well-known Balinese metaphor that addresses the perceived interrelationship between culture and development on the island. In it Bali is depicted as a tree. The Balinese religion (Agama Hindu) is viewed as its roots, the customs are its trunk, while the arts are its flowers or fruit. The origin of this metaphor is unclear, nevertheless, the analogy is powerful. If the roots are damaged, the tree will not prosper - too much harm and it will wither and die. If the roots are nourished and cared for, however, the trunk will grow bigger and stronger, and flowers and fruit will grow in abundance.

There has been some attempt in Bali to protect the culture from over-touristification and from becoming an entirely commercial product. Guidelines for tourists and tourism vendors have been developed. For example, notices outside some Balinese temples inform visitors that menstruating females and those with an inappropriate standard of dress are barred from entry - while at Besakih all tourists are denied access. Instead, the local government has provided a footpath around the parameter of the mother temple so that local ceremonies remain undisturbed. Many of the restrictions on tourism operators and tourists on Bali are, however, left for individual communities to uphold as they see fit. There is little standardisation or control of what is considered appropriate and inappropriate behaviour. And, even where there is legislation to protect the local society, many are unaware of these provisions. Nevertheless, according to Picard (1996, 199) the roots and fruits of the Balinese tree have flourished, even if much of the trunk has atrophied due to modern intervention.

The fragmentation, lack of wide understanding and agreement, as well as the incomplete nature of tourism control mechanisms on Bali is clearly worth closer examination. Certainly some legislation has been put in place. There are indications, however, that it has not been communicated to, or understood by, all groups affected by the industry. There is also evidence from other research findings that the success of any operation is greater where as many interested parties are involved in the development process as possible. Still, legislation, however well developed and disseminated, is only of real value where follow-up procedures are established to monitor stakeholder compliance. For example, controls to monitor the standard of dance performances on Bali need to ensure that each player in this chain meets the required standards, with forfeits to those that fail to achieve these. The process should also provide feedback to legislators on the practicalities of achieving compliance.

Tourism groups in Bali could be left to manage the interface between culture and tourism as they do now. It is entirely possible, however, that without some form of more organised guidelines that both tourists and tourism providers could become cynical or disgruntled about over commercialisation on the island. Evidence to date (Picard, 1996; Bali Post, 1997) would tend to suggest that Balinese are becoming more vocal about how their island is being commodified and sold. The development of tourist facilities overlooking significant temples and the use of sacred symbols for commercial purposes have recently been sensitive issues. It should be stated, however, that this is not only a Balinese experience. As Gratton and Richards (Richards, 1996) have observed the arts in Europe and the UK are lauded for their contribution to various economies'

development and diversification. Tourism providers, nevertheless, modify cultural and heritage 'products' for tourists' consumption (Richards, 1996).

Whether changes to a traditional culture are a positive or negative contribution to a society depends on the views, values and objectives of each actor involved in the tourism industry. With this in mind, we suggest two paths forward. First, local government could commit itself to providing broader, more encompassing guidelines that illustrate good cultural tourism practice and appropriate tourist behaviour in a variety of situations. Spokes people representing the various stakeholder groups, such as those providing training for the tourism industry, religious leaders, cultural experts, and hotel and government representatives could be invited to contribute to pre-legislation discussions. Failing this action, individual organisations and their associations could develop their own set of standards and try to encourage others of the benefits of self-regulation. They could act as a showcase to inform and educate others involved in the industry.

Whether cultural tourism denigrates Balinese culture, or that of any other society, is heavily dependent on the goodwill and fairplay of all groups with an interest in its development. Socio-cultural and economic benefits, as well as associated problems need to be assessed in light of the long-term impact on host communities. Picard (1996) views this issue in terms of whether societies like the Balinese can maintain a clear distinction between what aspects of their culture are delivered to tourists and what they consider is only for themselves. If the aspirations of a society, voiced by spokes people such as cultural experts and religious leaders are listened to fairly, then cultural tourism can provide a path forward into the new millennium.

References

- Ashworth, G.J., "Heritage and Tourism: An Argument, Two Problems and Three Solutions", in **Spatial Implications of Tourism**, Fleischer-van Rooijen, C.A.M. (ed), Groningen Geo Pers, 1992, pp95-104.
- Asian Wall Street Journal, "Tourism Heads off the Beaten Path", 17 April, 1997, p7.
- Aveling, H., "**State of Emergency**", London, 1980, pp.68-72.
- Bandem, M., "**Etnologi Tari Bali**", Yogyakarta, Kanisius, 1996.
- Bruner, E.M., **International Tourism, Identity and Change**, eds. Lanfant, M.F., Allcock, J.B., and Bruner, E.M., Sage Studies in International Sociology, London, 1995.

- Cukier-Snow, J. and Wall, G., "Tourism Employment: Perspectives in Bali". **Tourism Management**, June 1993, pp.195-201.
- Gelebet, N., "Pariwisata Budaya Berwawasan Lingkungan Menuju Pariwisata Berkualitas", public lecture, D-4 Tourism Program, Udayana University, Denpasar, 17 October, 1994.
- Geriya, W., "Pola Partisipasi dan Model Pemberdayaan Sumber Desa Adat Dalam Perkembangan Pariwisata", Denpasar, Upada Sastra, 1995.
- Gratton, C. and Richards, G., "The Economic Context of Cultural Tourism", **Cultural Tourism in Europe**, ed. Richards, G., CAB International, 1996, pp71-86.
- Guldborg, H., "Cultural Tourism and Cultural Assets", in Proceedings from the NSW Tourism Commission's 28th Annual Tourism Conference, 17-19 November, 1991.
- Jakarta Post, "Antique Thefts Rise in China", 12 October, 1997, p3.
- Jakarta Post, "Balinese Culture a Snag For Investors", October 16, 1997, p9.
- Kobar, W., "Cendikiawan, Televisi, dan Kemunduran Kebudayaan Bali", **Nusa**, 21 September, 1996, p6.
- Kompas, "Tak Ada Pariwisata Tanpa Budaya", 24 August, 1995, p5.
- Lanfant, M.-F., Allock, J.B., and Bruner, E.M. (eds), **International Tourism, Identity and Change**, Sage Studies in International Sociology, London, 1995.
- Li Peng, opening speech at the 46th PATA Conference, Beijing, 21 April, 1997, p2
- MacIntyre, A.J. and Jayasuriya, K. (eds), **"The Dynamics and Policy Reform in South-east Asia and the South-west Pacific"**, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1995.
- PATA Marketing Forum Report, Denpasar, 1994.
- Picard, M., **Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture**, Archipelago Press, Singapore, 1996.
- Richards, G., "The Scope and Significance of Cultural Tourism", in **Cultural Tourism in Europe**, CAB International, UK, 1996, pp19-45.
- Soedarsono, R.M., "Pariwisata dan Kebudayaan", in the **Cultural Congress**, Jakarta, 29 October - 3 November, 1991.
- Santeri, R., "Hindi di Bali: Arah dan Tantangannya", in **Cendikiawan Hindu Bicara**, ed. Putu Setia, Denpasar, Yayasan Dharma Narada, 1992, pp98-116.
- Sujana, N., "Orang Bali Semakin Kehilangan Kebaliannya", **Bali Post**, 3 December, 1988.
- Vickers, A., **"Bali: A Paradise Created"**, Periplus Editions (HK) Ltd, Singapore, 1989.
- Wall, G. and Nuryanti, W., "Marketing Challenges and Opportunities Facing Indonesian Tourism", **Marketing Issues in Pacific Area Tourism, 1997**, pp69-84.